· M. Bunitt s

GREEN WONTAIN FI

"Give me Liberty-or gipe me Death!"

VOLUME I.

MONTPELIER, VERMONT, SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1844.

NUMBER 3.

Jan. 1, 1844. Tract No. 1. THE SLAVE POWER.

FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE VOTERS OF THE SECOND CON-GRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF OHIO.

We have frequently declared before you that a single interest, represented by a comparatively small body of men, rules and has ruled for many years in the State and Federal Governments. This is the slaveholding interest, and its political influence we have usually termed the "Slave Power." We cannot insult your patriotism by an argument to show that a small body of men should not control a Government founded for and by the people; our object will be simply to demonstrate the fact.

As we assert that slaveholders govern us, let us first luquire into their numbers. It is a vulgar error to suppose that every White man in the Southern States is the owner of slaves.

The number of owners is very small, compared with the free adult population of those States, and insignificant compared with that of the whole union. No statistics give the number precisely; but as the census returns state the number of slaves. we may, aided by our knowledge of Southern Society and agritellure, obtain, with convenient certainty, the number of masters. The great staples of the South are cultivated on large plantations demanding, each of them, a large gang of negro laborers. Many of you have seen gaugs of more than a thousand on single plantations. Gen. Wade Hampton is said to have had this number, at least, on his estate on the banks of the Mississippi. Mr. Pollock, of North Carolina, died recently, leaving, according to the newspapers, fifteen hundred. Dr. Mercer, of Adams county, Mississippi, has an immense number; and being religiously inclined, he has erected for their use, if we may rely on the Gospel Messenger of August, 1842, a "plantation church" costing over \$30,000; and keeps an Episcopal Minister employed among them at a salary of \$1200. In the "slave-raising Cartes," warm of the propriets over large amplers. Mr. Car. States," many of the proprietors own large numbers. Mr. Carroll, of Baltimore, a late President of the Colonization Society, has been repeatedly referred to by the papers of that Society as the owner of a thousand.

In the fertile farming Districts of the South, the slaves are gathered in large numbers, and each proprietor owns a large them but a dependent and scanty subsistence, can, if able to atrocity and unrightenusness and seeking new countries for spoil "gang;" while in the hilly or barren districts, slave labor being unprofitable, there are very few. In the adjoining State of Kentucky, there are scarcely any slaves in the hill county of Grant;

"How improved will be our condition when we have such was first discussion." while the fertile Fayette is crowded with them. In South Car-olina, what are called the "sand hill counties," covering nearly half of the State, are comparatively unproductive and contain very few slaves; while the rich counties on the coast and in the interior, the "Sea-iland cotton" counties among them, contain but few whites in comparison with the slaves. In Georgetown district in that state, there are more than thirty slaves to one grown white male; so that, if we take the proportion of masters to the whole number of grown white males as one to five, each master would own more than one hundred and fifty slaves. In the Virginia Convention of 1820: "Those who depend on their negroes: they are owned in other parts of these states."

Benjamin Watkins Leigh, long a prominent Whig, said in the Virginia Convention of 1820: "Those who depend on their daily labor for their daily subsistence, can never enter into politically subsistence, can never enter into politically subsistence." negroes; they are owned in other parts of those states. In Brook county, Virginia, the proportion of whites to slaves is eighty-five to one; in Yancy, North Carolina, as twenty-two to one; in Union, Georgia, as thirty-five to one; in DeKalb, Ala- italists of a country should always own the laborers, "If labama, as sixteen to one; in Fentress, Tennessee, as forty-three to one; in Morgan, Kentucky, as seventy-four to one; in Tapey, in a state of revolution."

Gov. McDuffe, in his

the whites few. With these facts before you in founding out er of slaves is 2,487,113, would little over one hundred and ding, a fine feeling?" make the numbers twenty-four thousand. But as we wish to avoid the charge, from any opponent however embittered, of exaggeration, we will reduce this average number of twenty to less than thirteen, so as to make in round numbers, Two Hundred Thousand Slaveholders.

These are not all voters, many of them are minors, aliens or women. The slaveholding voters, then, constitute but a small February 1, 1844. slave States, and are not as numerous by some fifty thousand as the voters of the State of Ohio.

But the slaveholders control the policy of their own States. A glance at Southern Society and institutions will make the

manner of effecting this perfectly plain. They have all the influence which every where attaches itself to wealth; for the wealth of their States is concentrated in their

They have, too, all the influence of superior intelligence. Educating their own children at the Colleges of the North, the at their own mansions; they establish no common schools for their poor neighbors, the laboring whites. Chancellor Harper. of South Carolina, advocates slavery in the Literary Messenger, from bodily labor, and therefore he says they "have leisure for tion." But among the poor nonslaveholders there reigns the ulation of the State are unable to write their names." Governor ment.

Campbell makes a confession equally extraordinary, in a report to the Virginia Legislature. He states that it appeared from ion. This was refused, except upon the unconditional admission the returns of 98 clerks, that of 4614 applications for marriage of Missouri, which had also applied for admission. There was no objection from any quarter to the request of Maine; it was inconsiderable. He has under his country, is not inconsiderable. He has under his country his country has a country his country his country has a country his country his country his country. names. By the last census, there are fewer scholars at the pubfit in all respects that she should be admitted; but not daring to officers, distributed over the Union, comprising the most active sons in their plans for escaping out of the tender mercies lic charge in the thirteen slave states than in Ohio alone! They trust the question of the admission of Missouri upon its own and influential men, together with perhaps twee, nay, ten times of the American Congress, by allowing them to assemble have \$5,580, Ohio has 51,812. Kentucky, just across the river from us, has 420! The Richmond Compiler contains an interesting the admission of Maine, dependent on inducement to adhere to him, with all their influence and power.

The question of the American Congress, by anowing mean to that number of expectants of office; all of whom are under an inducement to adhere to him, with all their influence and power.

When may some inthat the persons who cannot read and write are in Connecticut to the Union," said the slave-owner; we shall be glad to receive dred and seventy-three; in New Hampshire, one to three hundred and ten; while in Louisiana, the most intelligent slave- she may acquire to the end of time!" A great struggle ensued State, it is one to thirty-eight and a half, and in North Carolina, it runs up to one to seven! No wonder then that an united and educated aristocracy rule the masses of the South, who are wonder that, in the South, the politicians lead the people; not the people the politicians, as in the North. A third element of the political power of slave-holders is the

vast constitutional privileges they enjoy, procured by their united action, wealth and intelligence. In all the slave States, with Territory, was passed by the old Congress, with scarcely an opbut one exception, slave property is represented in the Legis- posing voice. By this Ordinance, which is the fundamental law latures. This rule may give a District composed of one hun-of that territory, slavery is forever excluded from that vast tract dred voters with their slaves as many representatives as another of country. In this feature of that Ordinance, we have the of five thousand free voters. It enables Eastern Virginia, best evidence of the feelings of the American people, at that with a miserable numerical minority of voters, to control West- time, in relation to slavery. This territory was ceded by the

ern Virginia with her large free voting population. a slaveholder of voting in every District in which he may own this new country should never be polluted by the footsteps of land. Some of the large proprietors, therefore, may have a the slave. This act of the old Congress, was in perfect harmo-

fice, but in some, he is made incompetent by the fundament- opinion of American patriots, both of the North and South .al law. For instance, in South Carolina, he is excluded from The patriots of that age, were inspired with the ardent hope. the Legislature by the Constitution. The qualification of a Rep- that the principles of liberty, developed by the Revolution, would resentative is made, the ownership of slaves or else, to use the language of that instrument, "of a settled freehold estate of five wise men who framed the Constitution expressed their opinions hundred acres of land and ten negroes." By this, it is made -tut possible for any other interest than that of the planters to be represented in the State Councils. The fabric of South Carvailed." L. Martin. "The privilege of importing slaves, was olina aristocracy is as compact and as well protected by law as inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution and dishonorthe English nobility.

the spirit of Freedom, and is carried to the most oppressive extreme. To be satisfied of this, let any, one examine the apportionment laws of South Carolina, which give the Representative majoriy to a small minority in the planting counties.

These laws are aided by others requiring property qualifications, and by the tone of Southern Society which has no tend-

whites of the South from opportunities of education and from Maine were admitted into the Union, there were seven Repreesteemed by their lordly neighbors, and are known among slaves by the name of "poor white folks." Those of them whose manliness of spirit is broken down by years of endurance of con-

"To stir a fever in the blood of age, And make an infant's sinews strong as steel."

Southern newspapers teem with abuse of white men who la bor for their subsistence. Robert Wickliffe, a prominent Ken-tucky politician, and a member of a large and influential family, says in a speech published in the Louisville Advertiser, 'Gen- their countrymen to awake and resist its further advancement; ily, says in a speech puntished in the Louisvine that they may ob-themen want to drive out the black population that they may ob-tain white segmes in their place. White Negroes have this advantage over black negroes, they can be converted into voters; activity—gathering new strength from the cowardly submission and the men who live upon the sweat of their brow, and pay of its victims; and when also, it is meditating new schemes of

white negroes as perform the service labors of Europe, of old ble Speaker, Henry Clay, of the House, avowed his opposition England, and he would add now, of New ENGLAND, when our to the admission of Maine, unequivocally, until Missouri should body servants, and our cart drivers, and our street sweepers are have been admitted, with the privilege of continuing the increase white negroes instead of black. Where will be the independ- of the slave-holding population; and alleged that this jealousy ence, the proud spirit, the chivalry of Kentucky then?"

For these vaporing, Boabdil speeches, the 'white negroes' about Lexington refused to vote for Mr. Wickliffe at the ensuing elecion, and he was left at home to nurse the "chivalrous" spirit.

ical affairs; they never do, never will, never can." Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, in a Congressional speech of January 21, 1836, said, in support of the proposition that the cap-

borers ever obtain the political power of a country, it is in fact

in the hasis of twenty slaves to education of laborers, and asks triumphantly, "Would you do a benefit to the horse or ox by giving him a cultivated understan-

> This, then, is the spirit of the "Slave Power;" arrogant, overbearing and cruel, the deadliest foe to our free institutions, and the genius of Republicanism. Heaven protect them from its inroads!

Tract No. 2.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

OR THE

EXTENSION OF THE SLAVE POWER.

BY GEN. JAMES APPLETON, MAINE.

Academies and High Schools of the South, or by private tutors continually increased in power, and become more and more malignant, from that time until the present. In proof of this, I might advert to many of the leading measures of the National Government, and to much of the history of our country, since of October, 1838, on the ground that it exempts slaveholders the adoption of the constitution; but I choose to illustrate this position, by referring to the prevailing opinion of those who intellectual pursuits, and the means of obtaining a liberal educa- tramed the constitution, and to a single subsequent act of the government, viz: "The Missouri Compromise." I thus restrict most deplorable ignorance. In 1837, Gov. Clarke, in his mes- myself, for the purpose of presenting at large, the testimony of sage to the Kentucky Legislature, says, "By the computation of several witnesses, who were actors in the scene they describe, those most familiar with the subject, one-third of the adult pop- and who were competent, in all respects, to form a correct judg-

In the year 1820, Maine petitioned for admission into the Unone to five hundred and sixty-eight; in Vermont, one to four hun- you; but if you do come in, you must bring with you Missouri slaves and all-not only those which she now has, but all that It the members from the slave states, uniting as one man, and carrying with them, as they are always able to do, a few members from the free States, succeeded in their execrable project. kept in ignorance by its political and social influence. No This was the first instance, where the admission of a state into the Union, was opposed openly, and in the halls of Congress on the ground of slavery; but slavery triumphed, and liberty and

honor and the constitution, were prostrated to the earth. In 1787, the Ordinance, for the government of the North-west State of Virginia, for the purpose of forming new states, and al-In addition to this, some of the States grant the privilege to though she was herself a slaveholding state, she consented, that ny with the leading principles of the Constitution, which was In all of them it is difficult for a non-slaveholder to obtain of- adopted the year following, and perfectly coincident with the able to the American character." Col. Mason. "The poor de-The enormous political privileges we have mentioned are spise labor where performed by slaves. Every master of slaves The enormous political privileges we have mentioned are spise labor where performed by slaves. Every master of slaves rendered overwhelming engines against the non-slaveholding is born a petty tyrant. Slavery brings the curse of heaven on a lave just been appointed. Robert Wickliffe, Jr., of Kentucky, country." Mr. Gerry, "No sanction ought to be given to slave to Sardinia; Abram Rencher, of North Carolina, to Portugal; and Danley S. Carr, of Virginia, to Turkey. Noble Representatives of a free people.

Contrast the state of feeling, indicated by these facts, with that which existed less than thirty-five years afterwards, when Missouri was admitted to the Union. No one can doubt how the Missouri question would have been settled by the fathers of the republic. They would have frowned at the thought of extending slavery. Yet in 1820, the influence of slavery was so ency to inspire the laboring whites with an interest in public affairs. They do not go to the polls as we of the North do. Examine the returns of the votes at the last Presidential election if you doubt this, and compare them with the census returns.— You will find the number of white males in the slave States and Territories over 20 years of age, was, 1,017,307, while the votes will be accompanied to the polls. Whether any new stotes will be accompanied to the Union, with the right of perpetual slavery. Nor can it be doubted, that slavery has been constantly accumulating power, in an increased ratio, from the data when Missouri was admitted to the present time.— Whether any new stotes will hereafter be admitted to the Union, with their politics, and of allowing men to fancy that their needs to the Union, with their politics, and of allowing men to fancy that their needs to the Union, with their politics, and of allowing men to fancy that their needs are better than their political character is better than their political character. I searedly need say be-Territories over 20 years of age, was, 1,017,307, while the vote for President, at that exciting election, was only 682,583. With these 682,583 votes the South elected 126 Presidential electors; that the power to establish slavery, time alone can determine. But the power to establish slavery, time alone can determine that is, one elector to 5,935 voters.

The Free States gave 1,726,787 votes, and chose 168 electors that is, one elector to 10,278 voters. Two northern voters had a very linke more political power therefore, than one Southern avery linke more political power therefore, than one Southern whites should have voted who did not. To what cause can you attribute this, if not to those we assign.

The natural consequence of the exclusion of the laboring whites of the South from opportunities of education and from Maine were admitted to the Union, there were seven Renze.

political privileges, is their social degradation. They are little sentatives in Congress from Maine; but the conditions upon opt and insult, speak and act more like the serfs of Russian bles than free born sons of America. To aid this class of our be admitted into the Union, rather than to submit to the dishonempt and insult, speak and act more like the serts of Russian voted against her admission-preferring that Maine should never fellow citizens to recover their lost rights, is one object we stand pledged to accomplish. The non-slaveholders of the South will be, in a few years, the strongest wing of the Liberty party.—

They have wrongs

They have wrongs

The months of the Liberty party.—

They have wrongs

The months of the Liberty party.—

They have wrongs

The months of the Liberty party.—

They have wrongs

The months of the Liberty party.—

They have wrongs

The months of the Liberty party.—

They have wrongs

The months of the Liberty party.—

They have wrongs present able and upright Chief Justice of the State of Maine. 1 shall close up this paper with extracts from this Address, which bind and outrage and crush our brother; asserts in plain but strong language, the domination of slavery and the means by which it has been secured. If such were the men of different parties, united in exposing it, and in invoking

> "When the Bill for the admission of Maine into the Union, was first discussed, at an early period of the session, the honoraof power on the part of the South was justified by a similar jeal-ousy on the part of the North, manifested in the admission of Kentucky. He alleged that Kentucky had been kept out of the Union eighteen months, waiting for Vermont to be admitted as a counterpoise in the scale of the Union. This piece of history he stated as having been banded down by tradition, and derived from sources on which he could confidently rely. The same facts were again asserted subsequently by an honorable member of the Senate, (Governor Barbour of Virginia.) On examination, this precedent turns out not to have the slightest foundation

" Of the question of power or influence, the gentlemen of the Gov. McDuffic, in his celebrated anti-free-labor message of a the same in other counties of the same in other counties of the same and the slaves are numerous and the sla from the slave-holding portions of the Union. All this has excited no jealousy on our part. But whatever may be our disposition in this particular, it behooves the people of the North not to be inattentive to the signs of the times. If we profit nor the District, and otherwise tried to aid them in their essential to aid them in their essential to slave the District, and otherwise tried to aid them in their essential to slave the District, and otherwise tried to aid them in their essential to slave the district that John Bush was aiding in the escape of these ranaways. A Colored man, named Smallwood, now residing at Toronto, in Canada, had, it would seem, written letters to slaves in the District, and otherwise tried to aid them in their essential to the control of the acrest, there was a reason to believe that John Bush was aiding in the escape of these ranaways. A Colored man, named Smallwood, now residing at Toronto, in Canada, had, it would seem, written letters to slaves in the District and other than the control of the acrest, there was a reason to believe that John Bush was aiding in the escape of these ranaways. A Colored man, named Smallwood, now residing at Toronto, in Canada, had, it would seem, written letters to slaves in the District and other than the control of the acrest, there was a reason to believe that John Bush was aiding in the escape of these ranaways. by the developments which experience and collisions produce, we shall deserve to be considered a besotted and stupid race, fit only to be led blindfolded; and worthy only, to be treated with sovreign contempt."

Restrictions and impediments, in relation to Missouri, were odious-unconstitutional-invidious-and we know not what. But, in egard to Maine-she might be loaded down with restrictions, or any and every impediment; and to secure what? The interest and welfare of Maine? No; power—a balance of power; and to whom? to slave-holding states. They say to Maine, you may come into the Union; we shall be glad to receive you; you are entitled to admission upon every principle. But, if you do come in, you must bring with you Missouri, slaves and all-not only those which she now has, but all that she may acquire to the end of time.' These proceedings and declarations are to be regretted and to be deprecated. They Slavery exerted no slight influence over the public mind, at stand upon the defensive. And whater may be its solicitude for the period when the Federal Constitution was formed; but it has will have the worst possible effect. The North must, at least, declarations should not be passed without animadversions. To be totally regardless of such-not indications merely-but positive declarations-over and over again repeated; and from all the prominent characters of the South, will not, and ought not

> We see, here, a principle of Union-a rallying point-a principle which creates in this Union a solid column-an impenetrable phalanx, forever united for political purposes, and for the acquisition of political power and influence. While the South Lam told, a very industrious and respectable citizen, havare united, and the influence of the North neutralised by their ing a little property, and a beloved tarnity dependent on divisions, power, over this Union, must continue to reside where him for support and education. The crime (!) he is charshould not be concealed, also, that the power of the Executive, old, obsolete statutes of Maryland, which are held to be Whenever power in this country, then, shall have taken root in Shall this man suffer death for that act? square in the highere shall be found such a common principle of union, it cannot be easily eradicated.

> liscussions of the question, in relation to Maine and Missouri, the Supreme Court-Has Slavery ever had a legal exisshould forever hereofter be borne in mind. Missouri is now to tence in this District under the government of Congress? be admitted as a SEAVE-HOLDING STATE. Arkansas is next to follow. Thus the principle of union, this rallying point is to be this case has a magnitude, and importance, and interest, extended and strengthened. Let the American people ponder this testimony, and while it

s yet within their power, arise and vindicate the principles of their fathers, and drive back the foe of liberty and our country.

HINDERPROPERTY WOD'H'ELSE

-	THE REAL PROPERTY.	THE DAY OF	THE REAL PROPERTY.	C - Lamine Lawrence Principle	-	ï
		1840.	1841.	1842	1843.	1
	aine,	194	1,662	3,654	6,351	
N	ew Hampshire,	111	2,358	3,110	3,564	į
Ve	ermont,	319	2,794*	2,091	3,766	Ì
	assachusetts,	1,415	3,722	6,422	9,173	
	onnecticut,	174	1,319	1,777	1,872	
N	ew York,	2,808	5,882	7,262	20,000	ik
Pe	ennsylvania,	843	818†	1,114	2,417	
0	hio,	904	2,848	5,423	6,761	
411	linois,	159	527	931	1,954	
	lichigan,	328	868	2,130	2776	í
In	diana,			900	1,684	1
	Total,	6,754	20,688	34,814	60,308	1
_	and the same of th					1

*Increased by peculiar local cause.

THREE MORE SLAVE-HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS

RELIGION AND POLITICS.

BY GURBIT SMITH It is necessary to preach politics, if it is only to dispel

but little greater, ere it will work its own destruction. If the pulpit of this country shall, without delay, preach Bible politics, the people without delay, edopt, and act upon them; and then through the peaceful power of the peaceful ballot box, slavery will die a peaceful as well as speedy application of righteous politics to the gigantic evil, let the continue a little longer to be our prevailing politics-and our country will finish the bloodiest chapter in all the book of time. There will be such a reckoning for deep and damning wrongs-such an outbursting of smothered, pentup revenge, as living man has never seen. There will be, Apocalyptic language, 'blood even unto the horse-hridles.3 I close my remarks with the most deeply earnest entreaty to all ministers of the gospel to preach politicsto urge their hearers with all the power of which they are capable, no more to vote the la-h on the back of millions, but to vote it off-no paore to vote the Bible out of their hands, but to vote it into their hands-no more to vote their continued subjection, but their immediate exemption from, a system of horrid wholesale murder.

Correspondence of the New York Evangelist,
FUGITIVE SLAVES.
A case lately occurred in Washington City, of attempted escape of a number of slaves, which is likely, in its prog-

ress, to yield results of great moment. It is recorded in the National Intelligencer, of Nov. 27th, as follows:

"RUNAWSY SLAVES.—We understand that on last Friedright, tween eight and nine o'clock, a police officer, a constable and two other persons, aided by Capt. Goddard of the Auxilliary Gord, succeeded in preventing the rested, ten in number, were on the point of being conveyed out of the District. Four colored women and two children were in a light and commodious spring waggon, which the If we profit not the District, and otherwise tried to aid them in their escape. Smallwood arrived in this city with a waggon and horses last Tuesday evening. We understand that Bush has been held to bail in the sum of \$500, for his appearance at the next Criminal Court. Smallwood has not yet been arrested. The wagon and horses found in Bush's stable are in possession of the officers, and will so remain until the owner comes forward to prove and claim his

It will be observed that this arrest was achieved by an officer of the "Auxilliary Guard," which was established for the protection of the city, and especially of the public buildings, by an Act of Congress, passed in the summer of 1843. The real object of the law, was noted, I think, in your columns at that time. I am informed that nearly all the slaves recaptured by this "Goard," so employed and paid by the United States, have been punished for their love of liberty by being sold to the slave-traders, to be sent to New Orleans, and thence to the slaughter of the sugar plantations of Louisiana. Five of them, a mother and four children, it is said, belonged to Mr. Beale, an assistant Daorkeeper of the Senate. Mr. B., it is said, retains the mother and her youngest child, aged S years, and has sold the others, a son and two daughters, to the traders.

May God in mercy help and comfort that bereaved mother; and may every mother who reads this, make the case her own, and that of her own sons and daughters, and then act by the Golden Role.

The case of Mr. Bush is a very important one. He is, ged with is, kidnapping slaves; and this crime, under the

It is probable the trial will take place next month. Able counsel will be employed for the defence. On the trial The lessons which have been inculcated in the course of the the question will be raised, and carried for adjudication to

The readers of the Evangelist will see at a glance, that including and beyond the three cases of the Amistad, Latimer and Van Zandt! I will endeavor to give you a faithful report of the proceedings.

It is now confidently reported that the Committee on the amendment of the rules of the House, of which Mr. Adams is Chairman, have agreed five to four, to report in favor of rescinding the 21st Rule, which excludes aboliion petitions.

Signs or coming Triumen .- When the friends of freedom manifested a determination to carry their principles to the ballot-box, they were told that from thenceforth no concession would be made by the two old parties-that both would combine to oppose any anti-slavery measure or petition which might be proposed in our State Legisla-ture and Congress. How is the fact? The Legislatures of Massachusetts, Vermont and Maine, at their late sessions, have gone further in support of our principles, than they did during our seven years campaign of moral suasion. And now with the exception of three members from New Hampshire, the entire New England delegation in Congress, Democrats and Whigs, have just recorded their votes against the inflamous Gag-law. The Resolutions of Massachusetts, which in 1857 were cast unread, undebated, unreferred, on the table of Congress, are now referred to a committee of which John Q. Adams is chairman. Nay, more, in that very District of Columbia and